1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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[273]

PLATE II. Beer party at a chief's house. Standing in the foreground wearing a fez is a Native Authority messenger.

[651]

PLATE III. Collecting tax in a village. The Administrative clerk sits at a table on the verandah of the village headman's hut. Near him stand two Administrative messengers, and seated on the ground are men waiting to pay.

[Facing p. 144]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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PLATE IV. Villagers hoeing a path to another village in preparation for a visit from the District Officer.

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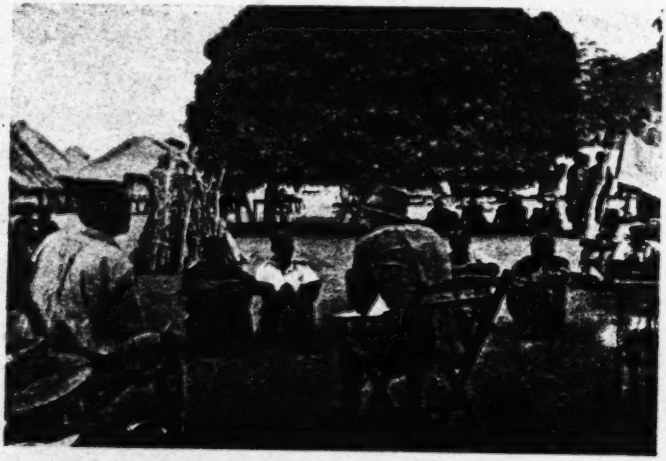

PLATE V. A District Officer, with a county chief on his left, talks to village headmen during a tour of villages. In the distance are villagers listening to the conversation.

[Facing p. 145]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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PLATE VI. The clerk of a county Native Court checks the whereabouts of men on the tax register of a village with an important man in the village. Standing are a Native Authority messenger with fez, and an Administrative messenger. The village headman and some of his people sit in the background.

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PLATE VII. Litigants outside a county Native Court wait for hearings to begin.

[Facing p. 152]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

693
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PLATE VIII. The clerk of a Native Court, with one of the court assessors, sits in the chief's village issuing a permit for selling beer to a man who has come on behalf of his sister.

[222]

PLATE IX. A Native Authority councillor, sitting on the verandah of the Native Court in his county, issues passes to men wishing to collect caterpillars. There are no edible caterpillars in Ngoniland, and Ngoni who wish to collect them provide themselves with passes to show to the Cewa chiefs in whose counties caterpillars are found.

[Facing p. 153]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

344
331

PLATE X. Thatching a school roof. The county chief has told men from nearby villages to do this work.

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516

PLATE XI. A mobile post office halted near a county court.

[Facing p. 168]

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

643 When the European Mr. Walker asked the big people whether Gomani I left any children, those big people refused to tell and said 'He did not leave children, they died when they were small.' They feared lest perhaps the Europeans wanted to kill the children too. Mr. Walker (they called him Cipyoza, 'the thing that goes on boring a hole') did not stop asking because he said 'Gomani was my friend and I want to help his children.' On his second journey they revealed to him that there were two children in the village here, and they named the heir Philip Gomani and his younger brother William Gomani who died in 1919. Then Mr. Walker rejoiced. When they brought the children out before his eyes, he gave them gifts which he brought for them, clothes and other things.

The accession of the Paramount and the royal medicines

When the succession of the new Paramount had been decided according to the principles just discussed, the regent had the further responsibility of presenting the new Paramount to the people. This presentation was the act of accession and, as we have seen, it might take place a short time or a longer time after the death of the former Paramount. In describing the accession and the ritual accompanying it, I shall use illustrations from the central kingdom, partly because the material there was more co-ordinated and more complete, especially that relating to the religious and magical significance of the ritual, and also because the unique feature of the 'royal shadow' in relation to the Paramount was, so far as I could tell, peculiar to that area.

The actual accession of the new Paramount had four main elements in it. The first was the decision as to the individual who was to succeed, which was taken by the regent and the senior men. The second was the 'placing' (*kuimika*) of the chosen successor, which was the announcement to the people that he was the Paramount. The third was the instruction by the senior men, and the fourth was the administering of 'medicines' to strengthen the Paramount.

The two following accounts relate to the accession of Gomani I. The first is by Captain Rattray and was included in his collection of Nyanja texts.[1] It was dictated to him by a man who was present at the death and cremation of Cikusi. At the end of this text there is a brief reference to the acknowledgment of the new Paramount:

[516] 'They allow three days to pass [after the funeral], and on the fourth everyone assembles and the new chief stands at the village court on one leg. One old man steps out and says, 'Do you hear? Your new chief is so and so' (naming him by his clan-animal name). Then everyone shouts '*Bayete*', and the thunder of their shields is heard, and all around is a mass of waving plumes. Then the elders take the 'child', going with him to a hut to give him instruction, saying 'Today you stand alone. Look after

[1] Rattray, R. S. *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*. London, S.P.C.K. 1907.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

your people as did your father before you. If a man be at fault, forgive him; but the sin of adultery cannot be pardoned.' 643

Habuya Dube, the official 'praiser' of Paramount Gomani II, had been present at the funeral of Cikusi, and he confirmed that the ceremony of accession was as described above and added these further details:

¶ At the time of the burning of the body of Cikusi, Gomani stood up in the smoke, standing on one leg with a shield in his hand. When all had been consumed by the fire, they began to open the waters and the grave-digger swept the ashes. And they picked up Gomani and went with him to the mound so that he should wash. When these things were over, we left the water to go to the house. We were dancing *ligubo* in the open place and Gomani had a headdress of *luve* [1] feathers on his head. And they followed him into the house, but all the people were dancing *ligubo* in the *bwalo* for a whole month. When the mourning was over, Bvumbwe Maseko said 'Now let us establish (*tiimike*) our chief.' So he was established. [766]

The 'standing on one leg' referred to in both texts is the position adopted by other East and South-east African people when resting supported by the spear, with one foot flat against the other knee and the shield in front of the body. Other men inheriting their father's position stood at the grave holding a spear, but only those of the Maseko clan, succeeding the Paramount in the direct line, adopted the position of standing on one leg. 'Placing' or establishing the Paramount was done before a large gathering of people with the warriors in full war-dress, described graphically in terms of the waving head-plumes and the thunder of the shields. It was evident that all discussion of who would or would not be a suitable Paramount went on within the closed circle of the regent and the senior men, and the people were presented with the chosen Paramount whom they acclaimed. [516]

The instruction by the senior men was a reminder to the new Paramount that, though his new powers were extensive and unique in their authority, he should not act like a cruel despot. There are references in the *Ncheu District Note Book* [2] to the passing-over of an elder brother of Gomani I on the grounds that he was of a fierce and cruel disposition, though, according to Ngoni informants, this man Mandala was a younger brother of Cikusi and an uncle of Gomani, and thus was not eligible to be Paramount. In discussing the type of man who was considered suitable to be Paramount, Ngoni informants always laid stress on the need for him not to be fierce and cruel. This pointed to an ideal type of Paramount and did not agree with European accounts of large-scale poison ordeals at Cikusi's court. The instruction to the new Paramount [183]

[1] Feathers worn only by the Paramount.

[2] *Ncheu District Note Book*. 1891.

and appeals were uncommon. Chiefs did not allow a man to come by himself with his case to them, he had to come with his headman. Even those in danger of death went first to the headmen and these brought them to the chiefs. 692

The Ngoni hated bribes. If any *induna* was found to have taken bribes from people he was condemned and punished. [687]

The hearing of the cases was like what it is today. The one who brought the case to the court spoke first, then the one with whom he was quarrelling. If there were elders there from their village they also spoke telling out how these people quarrelled, saying so-and-so began to quarrel in such-and-such a way, and then showed how they had been unable to judge it in the village. They did not go into details of the quarrel, that was done by the men themselves. After those who had quarrelled had told of the beginning of the case any who knew of it were asked to say how it appeared to them in the village. These were the witnesses both for and against. 695

When this had been done, all who were implicated or interested in the case remained silent. It is the custom of the Ngoni that all who spoke in a case should stand and have a stick, and as they spoke they should walk about and limp with the stick or sometimes stand all together, but in that case the hand which held the stick should shake and stick it into the ground. Only women spoke seated. No one at the hearing of a case was allowed to lie down, everyone, even the Paramount, sat. They did this because they were afraid that otherwise the case would not finish quickly. The court was held in the cattle kraal. Women were not allowed into the kraal for cases, but sat outside opposite where the old men were gathered, even though they were the wives of the Paramount. 695 516

After the litigants and the witnesses had spoken it was the turn of the elders of the court. They questioned and agreed with or criticized the men who had quarrelled but they did not pronounce judgement. They waited for the Paramount who first of all sat silent and noticed those who unravelled or twisted the case. Afterwards when the people had finished speaking, the elders delivered the story to the Paramount or judge. The judge then delivered his judgement and condemned those who had twisted the case. He delivered his judgement sitting not standing like the other people and when he had finished all thanked him, or rather saluted him with a loud '*Bayete*' or with the surname if to lesser chiefs. Sometimes he sent an elder to tell the court the judgement. When the case had been judged no one criticized the judgement. The one who began to give thanks for the judgement was the one who was found guilty: this he did to show submission and repentance. The custom of today that the one who wins the case gives the thanks is not good because the man who has lost goes away in resentment and threatening and often the case crops up again. 695 [576]

If an *induna* or man of standing went secretly to the Paramount to accuse somebody that he deserved death (perhaps for witchcraft), very often the Paramount sent a man in secret to warn the condemned man to run to a chief's village and hide his head. In this way many left their fathers and went to build with the chiefs and when they went they took all their things 643 692 692

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

(*ukuqandisa*). The middle section, the main part of the ceremony, took place in the husband's village while the bridal party was there. In the last part the bride was left in her new home and three ceremonies marked her gradual integration into her new social group.

After the number of cattle had been decided upon in the final stage of the betrothal, the initiative was left to the girl's parents to announce the date of the *mtimba*. Eventually a message was sent through the *gogo* house of the girl's village to say that the bridal party would arrive on a certain day. Before the day came, the girl, now addressed as *umlobokazi* (the bride), was called to the *indlunkulu* in her village. There the leading women, her father's mothers, who had called in her father's sisters, gave her final instructions on how to behave in her new home. Ngoni women said that they were told at this time: 'Our child, we are putting you out of our family. We are handing you over to the other people. You were free and now your freedom is over for you are under other people. Where you are going you will meet with many troubles. They will say of you many things which you did not do. It is good to be patient.' During this instruction the girl cried and so did her mother. On the morning of the departure the girl was dressed in freshly prepared skins, her hair was arranged in the *isihlutu* (chignon) to which the gall bladder of a goat was pinned, and the gall bladder of a cow was tied to her elbow. Then, still sobbing and whimpering, and surrounded by her age mates and the female members of her house, she set out for her bridegroom's village, the young men of her village driving a bullock (*mcando*) as a present from the bride's parents to the mother of the bridegroom, in whose herd it was placed.

This part of the ceremony, the entry of the bride's party (*ukuqandisa*), was held to be of great importance, since it was the first time the bride's family and friends as a group had met the husband's family. The bride's procession waited by the kraal gate, singing *mtimba* songs, and every now and then a woman of the bride's party, one of her father's sisters, sang the praises of the bride's clan. As the young men driving the bullock entered the kraal, the bridal party joined them and they began to dance in the kraal.

Now the first overtures were made between the bride's party and the people of the bridegroom's village. The older women of the village approached the older women of the bride's party, greeting them and exchanging, in the Ngoni phrase, 'words which were good and proud and showed the quickness of their tongues'.

After these advances, the men of the village came into the kraal or gathered by the *indlunkulu*. While the bridal party began to sing with their heads bowed, the chief woman from the *indlunkulu* of the bride's village came forward, bending low, and on her knees presented to the *induna* of the *indlunkulu* of the husband's village a basket containing snuff boxes and beads. She made a speech, in which she said, 'Here is

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

the killing and the flaying were done just outside the kraal by young men of the Nzunga clan, younger brothers of the chief. The cow ran backward as she was stabbed and a second blow killed her, and she was dragged round when she fell to lie with her head to the south-east. Some of the blood from the wound was collected immediately by Lopati and taken by him and put in Bambo Manga's hut in 'the place of the spirits'. The cow was skinned with a few neat strokes of the knife, and a thin strip of meat about six inches wide was cut from the back. This Lopati put in the sacrificial food basket and he and the chief went with it to Bambo Manga's house. The three firestones were removed and the meat was spread on the glowing logs till it was cooked through and quite white. Bambo Manga, who was lying on her mat, washed her hands and face with water brought by her daughter and rinsed out her mouth. Two small pieces of the meat were given to her to eat, and the rest was cut up in small pieces and eaten by Lopati, the chief, his sister and Bambo Manga's daughter. This meat could only be eaten by that inner group.

The men who had skinned the beast cut it up and, following an Ngoni practice, laid all the meat on the gate of the reed fence surrounding the *bwalo*, and carried it to the hut and laid it outside the door. Holding the sacrificial winnowing basket Lopati directed the men to put in it three right ribs, a piece of liver, both stomachs, the heart and lungs, the fat from round the kidneys, a bit of the intestine and the spleen. The head of the beast was arranged facing towards Kabwazi's village, since he had always kraaled some of the Nzunga cattle.

Lopati took the basket into the hut and was followed by the head herd-boy holding the tip of the tail and the gall bladder. The basket with the meat in it was put on the floor at the back of the hut in 'the place of the spirits'. Lopati and the chief squatted on their haunches nearby, and Bambo Manga knelt on her mat while her daughter wiped the soles of her feet, and she went forward on her knees to the place of the spirits. Lopati intervened and said 'Please walk upright', but she refused and said 'I will do as my ancestors did'. Her daughter knelt behind her.

Then Lopati began to praise the spirits, calling on Mputa by name, saying 'Here is your meat. Please eat. We praise you. We are your children.' The rest ejaculated '*Wena Nkosi*', '*Wena, Gumede*' as if supporting him, keeping quite still and facing the place of the spirits. After the invocation Bambo Manga went back to her mat, and Lopati took the gall bladder and sprinkled the juice round her, and then round the meat basket and round the hearth-stones. The gall bladder was then put in a small pot with water in it and laid on the floor, and the tip of the tail was tied above the place of the spirits. The skin of the beast, which had been washed but not scraped, was brought in and laid on the ground between the firestones and the wall and the gate with the meat

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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[411]

2. Chief dressed for war-dance with wives

3. Chief and his elders in kraal

[facing page 17]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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417
481
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8. A well-filled grain store

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[facing page 48]

9. Winnowing

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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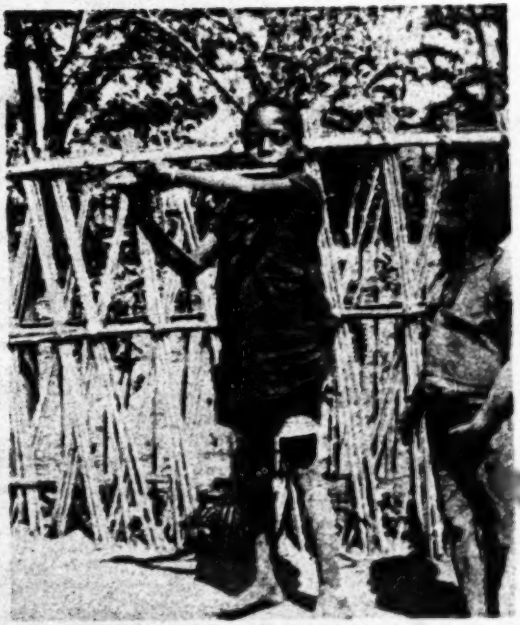

10. Young musicians

[facing page 49]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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● 516
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11. Young musicians

[342]

[facing page 64]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

of cloth hanging in front from a bead or grass waistband. They were all taught before that age, and most stringently after it, to sit correctly. For the little girls, this meant kneeling first and then sitting with the legs tucked on one side. They always smoothed down their scrap of cloth so that their genitals were covered. Little boys often squatted, sitting on their heels. Their correct position however, especially when eating food, was to sit with their legs crossed and the soles of their feet pressed against their thighs, and their cloth or skin apron arranged to cover their genitals.

Any rudeness in speech or action towards parents or elders was corrected at once, and the child was told: 'That is not the Ngoni way.' Studied courtesy included looking down when addressed by an elder, and as we saw in Chapter II, never walking behind a group of elders but passing in front of them, bending slightly forward and murmuring: 'I am before your eyes.'

Play places and playthings

In spite of what appeared like a somewhat restrictive régime, Ngoni children were merry and busy all their waking hours. Occasionally lack of health, or an awkward temperament, produced a child who sat around by himself, or glowered at other children, or was spiteful and vindictive. For the most part their nurse girls and older sisters paid them the attention they demanded, were always ready to provide distractions and amusements, and showed them how to use all that lay around them as playthings.

The places where they played depended on their age and mobility. The youngest children stayed round the hut and inside the fence. Occasionally the nurse girls and older sisters in the afternoons took them to a 'playground' on the outskirts of the village, where the older girls were accustomed to meet and practise dancing, or to thread beads and chatter. When the harvest was in, some of the older children about five and six years old, helped by the nurse girls, made 'play

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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16. Traditional hair style

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17. Girls sitting correctly [facing page 97]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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18. Chiefs' wives

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[facing page 112]

19. Girls dancing Ngoni

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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20. Making lorries

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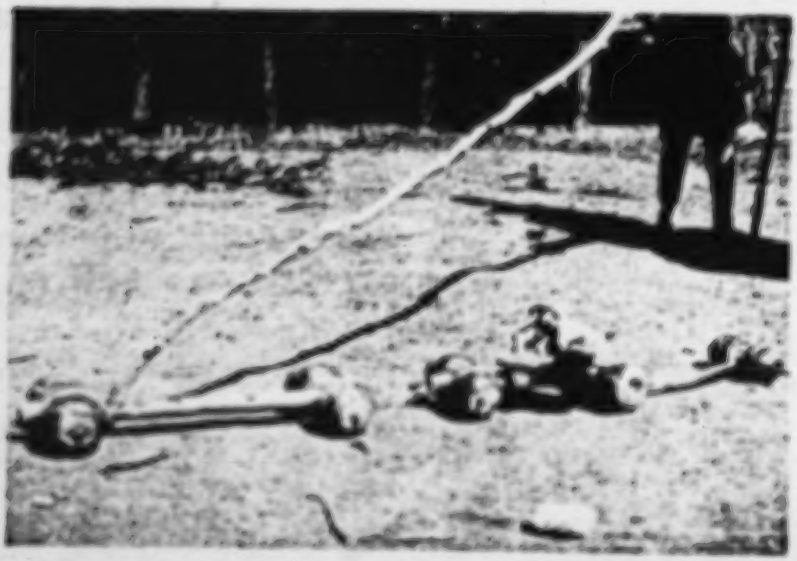

21. Will the wheels work?

[facing page 113]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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22, 23. Herd boys

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[Facing page 128]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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24. Learning to make fire

25. Explaining how to do it

[facing page 129]

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26. Making clay figures

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[facing page 1444]

27. Ear piercing

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

827 gardens was not required of most Ngoni women, though they
577 were expected to know by experience how to hoe and to pound, to mud walls and to clean a house in order to supervise their helpers and to see that household work was done efficiently.

577 In addition to being healthy, the ideal Ngoni woman was
581 always well-groomed. She might lack the facial formation of high cheek-bones, narrow nose and deep-set eyes and the [826] light bronze colouring which were the accepted standards of beauty. Even without these natural, usually inherited, [302] advantages she spent, as we have seen, much time every day taking care of her skin and hair. When she was receiving [291] visitors or sitting outside her hut, her two long cloths, one fastened under the armpits and the other over one shoulder and knotted on the chest, were carefully draped and arranged. If she walked to another compound or out of the village on the road, or walked or danced in any ceremony, [516] her dignity of bearing and poise of head was always marked. She did not hurry, but, as the Ngoni said, 'she walked strongly'. A government official passing an octogenarian [481] Ngoni princess on the road stopped and offered her a lift in his car. She looked him up and down and said: 'Thank you, young man. I can still walk.'

577 Many references have been made already to the relation-
602 ship between a wife and her husband, and between a wife, especially a young one, and her husband's relatives. The keynotes of this relationship were devotion to her husband, respect for his relatives, and circumspection in her relations with her co-wives and with her non-Ngoni helpers. Jealousy between co-wives was recognized by the Ngoni but not condoned, and the young wife at marriage was warned by her own family against quarrelling with anyone, co-wives, helpers or in-laws, though the last was almost unthinkable.

577 Competence in household management, being a success-
592 ful 'châtelaine', made many demands on a Ngoni woman if she were to live up to what was considered an ideal house

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

342
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1. Preparing meat for a gall-bladder ceremony. The leader of the bride's party sits on the left with her helper while the meat is cut up by the master of ceremonies.

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2. Bride kneeling on mat outside her husband's mother's hut. Standing behind her are the three women of her party.

[Facing P. 106]

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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III. Anointing the bride's feet with gall. The master of ceremonies rubs gall over the bride, who sits on a mat between a woman of her party and the guide.

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IV. The gall-bladder is safely pinned in the bride's hair. Thus decorated, she will return to her own village.

[Facing P. 129]

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

PLATE XIV

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857
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3. Boys crushing ground-nuts. The expressed oil will be used in a bird trap

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857
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4. Boy playing with a toy motor-car made from maize stalks

NGONI

[Facing P.209]

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

PLATE XVI

281
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7. Drying a cow-hide at a funeral. A beast from the herd of the dead man has been killed for the mourners. The skin will be buried on top of the coffin

764
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8. Later, at the same funeral. The body has been interred and the mourners are sitting round the grave, near the cattle-byre, listening to a sermon by a local preacher of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission

[Facing P. 225]